THE LADDER

SEPTEMBER 50¢

purpose of the

Daughters of BILITIS

A WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROMOTING THE INTEGRATION OF THE HOMOSEXUAL INTO SOCIETY BY:

1. Education of the variant, with particular emphasis on the psychological, physiological and sociological aspects, to enable her to understand herself and make her adjustment to society in all its social, civic and economic implications--this to be accomplished by establishing and maintaining as complete a library as possible of both fiction and non-fiction literature on the sex deviant theme; by sponsoring public discussions on pertinent subjects to be conducted by leading members of the legal, psychiatric, religious and other professions; by advocating a mode of behavior and dress acceptable to society.

2. Education of the public at large through acceptance first of the individual, leading to an eventual breakdown of erroneous taboos and prejudices; through public discussion meetings aforementioned; through dissemination of educational literature on the homosexual theme.

3. Participation in research projects by duly authorized and responsible psychologists, sociologists and other such experts directed towards further knowledge of the homosexual.

4. Investigation of the penal code as it pertains to the homosexual, proposal of changes to provide an equitable handling of cases involving this minority group, and promotion of these changes through due process of law in the state legislatures.

the Ladder

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THE LADDER is regarded as a sounding board for various points of view on the homophile and related subjects and does not necessarily reflect the opinion of the organization.

contents

THIS MONTH'S ISSUE OF THE LADDER IS DEVOTED TO THE FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH COMMITTEE OF THE DAUGHTERS OF BILITIS - AN EXTENSION OF THE SURVEY CONDUCTED ON THE LESBIAN AND REPORTED IN THE SEPTEMBER, 1959 ISSUE OF THE LADDER. THE SAME QUESTIONNAIRE WAS CIRCULATED AMONG MALE HOMOSEXUALS AND COMPARISONS DRAWN BETWEEN THE MALE AND THE FEMALE HOMOSEXUAL. MUCH CREDIT IS DUE THE MEMBERS OF THE DOB RESEARCH COMMITTEE AS WELL AS TO THE MATTACHINE SOCIETY AND ONE, INC., WHO HELPED TO PROVIDE MALE SUBJECTS. FLORENCE CONRAD, CHAIRMAN OF THE DOB RESEARCH COMMITTEE, PREPARED THE ANALYSIS AND WROTE THE TEXT. COMMENTS ON THIS ISSUE AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH WILL BE WELCOME.

COVER BY KATHY ROGERS

DOB *questionnaire reveals*
SOME COMPARISONS BETWEEN
MALE & FEMALE HOMOSEXUALS

I. Introduction

Publication last September of the results of a DOB survey of Lesbians gave rise to the suggestion that a similar survey be undertaken of male homosexuals. Accordingly, in the following months a 4-page questionnaire was prepared by the DOB, similar to that previously distributed to women, and circulated by the Mattachine Society and ONE, Inc.

Approximately 100 replies were received to this second survey, so that the following report covers 100 cases, compared to 157 cases for the original survey.

For a full statement of the purposes and limitations of this survey, the September, 1959, issue of THE LADDER, containing a report of the original study, should be referred to. It is important to keep in mind that:

1. As the original study could not be taken as representative of Lesbians in general, so the present one may not be taken as representative of male homosexuals in general.

2. The comparisons made in this report cannot therefore be taken as indicating differences in general between male and female homosexuals. They do indicate some differences between a particular group of male homosexuals and a somewhat comparable group of Lesbians.

3. The ambiguities in certain questions, found in working with the first study, necessarily remain in the present one. Rephrasing of questions on any large scale would not have been consistent with meaningful comparison of results. The original report should

be consulted for a full discussion of difficulties of this kind.

II. General Characteristics

Like the female group, the males are almost entirely Caucasian, and of U. S. citizenship. Birth or rearing was scattered among 36 states and 4 foreign countries - nearly as large a spread as occurred in the larger female group.

The male group, like the female, comes from a largely urban background, though more of the men (30%) than of the women (24%) claimed a purely rural upbringing.

The male group is somewhat older; median age for the men is 35 years, compared to the women's median of 32. Persons over 40 years of age accounted for almost a third of the men; this age group was twice as important among the men as among the women. The men's ages ranged from 18 to 66 years - slightly greater than the women's range.

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Educational level of the males is even higher than that reported by the Lesbians, as shown by the following:

	MEN	WOMEN
COMPLETED HIGH SCHOOL	86%	82%
COMPLETED 4 YEARS OF COLLEGE	49	33
DID SOME COLLEGE WORK	73	66
DID SOME COLLEGE WORK BEYOND 4TH YEAR	26	16

TABLE I. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

This data partly reflects the fact that males in this country more often complete college than do females, though the reverse is true for high school completion. The educational level for the males as well as the females is much higher than the comparable national averages. Thus in 1957 only 41% of white males over 25 had

completed 4 years of high school, and only 10% four years of college. The respective percentages for white females are 45% and 6%.

College grades were also extremely high in both groups, as shown below. The males earned more A's than the females, and the females more B's, but 78% of each group earned grades of B or better.

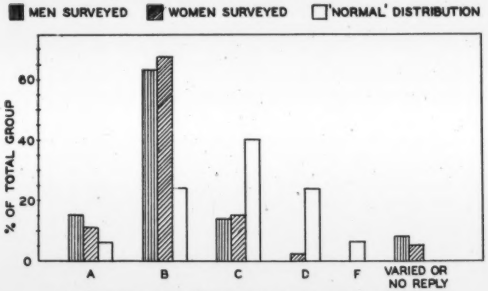

FIG. I - DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGE GRADES

The male college group favored for their major fields Social Science, Business, and English, in that order. These plus Psychology made up the majors for slightly over half of the group who attended college. Among the women, English, Social Science, Art and Psychology majors made up half the college group. Thus, except for the men's preference for business subjects, and the women's for art, there is great similarity of choice.

OCCUPATIONS

There are relatively more men professional workers among the group surveyed than there were among the women; in

both cases the proportion is much higher than the comparable national proportions. Clerical workers, the second most important group among men and women alike, were less well represented among the men than among the women, but considerably more important in the male survey group than nationwide among white employed males. Trades, on the other hand - skilled or unskilled - were far less important in the male survey group than nationwide, and so were managerial and official jobs.

The distribution of the 4 categories of occupations mentioned above is given below for the men and women surveyed, together with proportions taken from the 1957 Census data for white employed males and females. Other categories of occupations, such as sales, personal services, etc., were relatively unimportant in both groups.

	MALES		FEMALES	
OCCUPATION	SURVEY GROUP	WHITE EMPLOYED*	SURVEY GROUP	WHITE EMPLOYED*
PROFESSIONAL	51%	11%	44%	13%
CLERICAL	24	7	33	33
TRADES**	4	45	6	17
MANAGERIAL	5	14	3	5

*ANNUAL REPORT ON THE LABOR FORCE, 1958, SERIES P-50, U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS.

**CRAFTS, FOREMEN, OPERATIVES, AND OTHER LABOR, EXCLUDING FARM LABOR.

TABLE 2. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Many factors are probably at work here, such as vocational interest, opportunity and ability, which would be difficult to disentangle even if more information were available. One might wonder, thus, whether the large "clerical" element and the small "trades" element among the homosexual men reflect a greater interest in white-collar than in blue-collar jobs, or differences in apti-

tude, or merely differences in job opportunity.

Of interest in this connection is that only about 7% of the men reported such occupations as hair stylist, nurse, decorator, etc., which may be associated in the public mind with homosexuals; of course, this may be a higher percentage than occurs nationwide. Even fewer of the women reported occupations which the public might associate with female homosexuality, but here it is more difficult to guess which jobs do have such associations in the public mind.

As might be expected on the basis of sex and age, the male survey group earns more money; the median monthly wage for those who replied to the income question (all but 11 did so) is $425, compared to the female median of $350. Converted to annual rates, the male median income of $5100 is well above the 1958 national median for white income-earning males over 14, but is barely equal to the white male median for those working full-time the year round. (We presume that nearly all of the men who answered this question work full-time; only one person reported himself to be a student and one more indicated part-time work.) On the other hand, the female median was over three times as high as the national figure for white females with income, and was well in excess of the national median for full-time white female workers. The relation between median annual income for the two survey groups and comparable Census data, is shown in Fig. II.

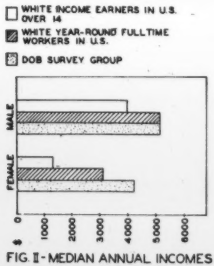

FIG. II - MEDIAN ANNUAL INCOMES

TAKEN FROM U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, INCOME OF FAMILIES AND PERSONS IN THE U.S., SERIES P-60

This relatively poor showing for the men is surprising, in view of the high educational level, the high level of college grades, and the high proportion of professional workers among the men relative to the national average, when compared to the women's ratios, and in view of the relatively greater age of the male group. For what reason does this group of men fail fully to reflect the economic advantage possessed on the average by males over females in the nation as a whole? The occupational distribution, already referred to, may supply part of the answer: skilled trades - relatively scarce among the male survey group - is a category that pays better than clerical work, and that is fairly important among male occupations nationally, though not among female. The relative scarcity of managers and officials among the men would also tend to lower the income figures for this group.

If we try to go beyond these facts to get at reasons for them, we are again on uncertain ground. Are homosexual men perhaps less interested in the kinds of work that pay well in our society; or is it rather that well-qualified, well-educated homosexuals encounter more difficulty in getting and keeping the higher-paid jobs available to men, than do women homosexuals in getting and keeping the higher-paid jobs available to women? Reasons for such difficulties might include the handicap involved in climbing the higher rungs of the business ladder, for a man unequipped with the social asset of wife and family. Single women, on the other hand, while they are at a disadvantage compared to men, are not at all disadvantaged - quite the contrary - in comparison with their married female colleagues.

An alternate possibility is that the woman homosexual may be highly motivated to achieve success in fields once considered open only to men, or for other reasons to achieve more career-wise than her heterosexual sisters; whereas the psychology of the male homosexual would not lead him in this direction.

About 63% of the men served in the armed forces. Of these, 80% received honorable discharges, while another 5% received general or medical discharges. The female

group was of course much smaller - only 18% served, of whom most received honorable discharges.

Comparative data on other items of general information is shown below for the men's and women's groups.

	MEN	WOMEN
PROPERTY OWNERSHIP	42%	37%
HOME OWNERSHIP	29	29
SUPERVISORY POSITIONS	41	28
OWN THEIR OWN BUSINESS	4	2
GOOD OR EXCELLENT CREDIT RATING	97	89
REGISTERED VOTERS	78	81
JURY DUTY SERVED	9	5
LONGEST PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT (AVERAGE)	8.7 YRS.	6.2 YRS.
RESIDENCE AT PRESENT ADDRESS (AVERAGE)	5.1	4.9

TABLE 3

The first four items in the above list would be expected to reflect in part the economic advantage of the male in our society; they do this except, interestingly enough, in the case of home ownership, where this advantage is apparently outweighed by other considerations. The Lesbians surveyed thus appear more "domestic" than the males in this respect, since despite their income disadvantage an equal proportion own their own homes.

Stability as measured by length of continuous employment and residence does not differ greatly between the two groups. Since the men are of an older age group, the higher averages shown above are to be expected.

More of the men than of the women belong to business, professional, fraternal, or social organizations - about 63% compared to 52%.* Occupational and economic status may be partially responsible for this difference.

* These percentages exclude men who reported membership only in the Mattachine Society and women who reported membership only in the Daughters of Bilitis.

On the whole, then, the male group is quite similar to the Lesbian group in general characteristics, in that both are well above average in education and professional status and at least average in income, the male average surpassing the female in all three respects. The men, like the women, appear to be by and large a group with civic interests and stable habits of work and residence.

A fact which may seem inconsistent with the above is that 30% of the men reported having been arrested, compared to 12% of the women. The most common reasons given by the women were drunkenness and traffic violations; while for the men disorderly conduct is the reason most frequently given, with charges relating to overt homosexuality coming next. These facts we may assume reflect the differing life circumstances of the male and female homosexual. The male, with a possibly stronger sex drive, is faced with more rigid barriers against its expression in any form, so that conflict with the law at one time or another may be almost inevitable for many. Add to this the apparently greater tendency of males to congregate in bars, the tendency of the police to focus attention on males in public places, the greater obviousness of male sexual expression, and police entrapment practices with males, and the results are not so surprising as they may appear.

III. Family History

Family background of the men's group seems somewhat more stable than that of the women, as shown in Figure III on page 12.

Furthermore, where only one parent cared for the child, death was the more frequent cause in the male group; divorce or separation was the more frequent cause in the Lesbian group. Also fewer of the men reported alcoholic parents (11% compared to 23% for the women) and somewhat fewer of the men's parents had ever been arrested (7% of the men's parents, 10% of the women's). The percentage of parental commitments to mental hospitals, already very low among the women (4.5%) was still lower among the men (3%). No man reported his parents to be users of narcotics (1.3% of the women did). However, one mother in the male group was a prostitute.

Despite these facts, slightly more of the men than of the women reported an unhappy adolescence, as shown in Figure IV. As stated in the original report, one would expect an unhappy adolescence in a largely deviant group; and it is possible that the psychological impact of facing this deviance may be greater for the adolescent male in our society than it is for the female.

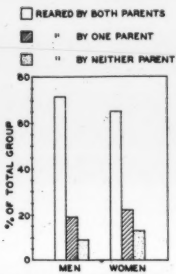

FIG. III - BY WHOM REARED

A majority of the men, as of the women, had a favorite parent. But whereas 55% of the women with preferences preferred the mother, a much greater majority of the men with preferences (85%) did so. This tends to bear out psychiatric views as to the special relationship of the mother to male children.

The men came from somewhat larger families than did the women: the average male responding had 1.9 brothers and/or sisters (siblings), compared to 1.7 for the women. Furthermore, more men reported having 2 siblings than any other number, while for women one sibling was the most common. Again, only 17% of the men were "only children," whereas 22% of the women were. If it is true, as suggested in the original study, that the data for females do not indicate unusually small-sized families, then this is all the more true of the present data.

The ratio of total number of brothers to total number of sisters is interesting, in the light of various possible hypotheses which may be formulated as to genetic or environmental influences on homosexuality. It may be recalled that the survey on females revealed 148 brothers to 116 sisters, or a ratio of 128 brothers for every 100 sisters. Since publication of the original report, it has been pointed out to the committee that this ratio is not unusually low in brothers, as we had incorrectly argued, and is in fact somewhat higher in brothers than might be expected on the basis of chance alone, though not significantly higher.

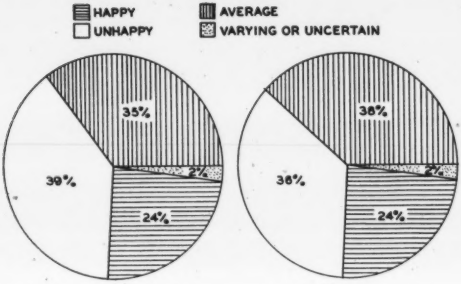

FIG. IV - EMOTIONAL STATE DURING ADOLESCENCE

If the present study had revealed the opposite situation - a low ratio of brothers to sisters - then there might be some reason to speculate on the connection between homosexuality and a preponderance of opposite-sex siblings. But no encouragement for such speculation is offered by the results here obtained: the ratio of brothers to sisters among the men is 115 to 100. Thus male siblings predominate in both groups, though to a relatively minor extent. In the absence of a control group of heterosexuals, however, it is impossible to conclude from these figures what is the true relationship between the sibling sex ratio of male and female homosexuals, since selective factors may enter the picture.

There was practically no difference between the male and female groups with regard to family knowledge or acceptance of subjects' homosexuality. About 42% of each groups' families did know; about 30% of each groups' families did accept. However, more men than women reported other homosexuals in their families: 21% of the men, compared to 14% of the women. The number of relatives suspected to be homosexual amounted to 28% of the male group, 22% of the female group.

Income status of the families involved was judged to be average by a majority of the persons responding to the

male questionnaire, as was true for the female questionnaire. The following comparisons reflect differences in subjective evaluations, not necessarily in actual family income status:

INCOME BELIEVED TO BE:	FAMILIES OF MEN	FAMILIES OF WOMEN
AVERAGE	62%	60%
BELOW AVERAGE	14	9
ABOVE AVERAGE	23	28
NO REPLY	1	3
	100	100

TABLE 4. FAMILY INCOME STATUS

Family occupations were not greatly different from those of the female group: 20% of the men's fathers were professional or semi-professional, compared to 23% of the women's fathers. On the other hand, 19% of the men's mothers were in this category, compared to 16% of the women's mothers. For both the men and the women, skilled and unskilled trades accounted for something over a quarter of the fathers' occupations. In both cases there were proportionately many more professional fathers, and fewer engaged in a trade, than is found in the general population. Thus the income of the men's families, as of the women's, was probably above average.

Religious background does not differ greatly from the female group, nor from the national figure. The male group, like the female, departed from the parental religion to a considerable extent: almost $\frac{1}{4}$ of each group reported no religion or agnosticism in place of the religion of their parents. About 67% of the men had received at least some religious training in the home, compared to 60% of the women.

IV. Personal History

The male group rates itself on the Kinsey scale as exclusively homosexual in 62% of the cases - very close to

the female figure; 93% of the men rate themselves as more homosexual than heterosexual - again strikingly close to the female percentage. The rating scale and results for both groups are given below:

	PERCENT OF MEN	PERCENT OF WOMEN
EXCLUSIVELY HETEROSEXUAL WITH NO HOMOSEXUALITY	0	0
PREDOMINANTLY HETEROSEXUAL, ONLY INCIDENTALLY HOMOSEXUAL	2	2.5
PREDOMINANTLY HETEROSEXUAL, BUT MORE THAN INCIDENTALLY HOMOSEXUAL	1	4
EQUALLY HETEROSEXUAL AND HOMOSEXUAL	4	2.5
PREDOMINANTLY HOMOSEXUAL, BUT MORE THAN INCIDENTALLY HETEROSEXUAL	18	5
PREDOMINANTLY HOMOSEXUAL, BUT INCIDENTALLY HETEROSEXUAL	13	22
EXCLUSIVELY HOMOSEXUAL	62	64
	100	100

TABLE 5. HOMOSEXUAL-HETEROSEXUAL SCALE

Marital status of the men differed from that of the women in that fewer of the men were ever married - only 15% of the men compared to 27% of the women. This result may reflect in part the greater social pressure on women to marry. Less than half of the men who married stayed married; less than a quarter of the women did.

Reasons for marriage given by the men include security, social acceptance, need for companionship, thought of a possible cure (which did not materialize), and in several cases a general idea that marriage would somehow "work out." In general, this was similar to the reasons given by the women. Incidentally, only 2 men mentioned a desire for children as a reason for marriage; none of the women whatever mentioned this as a reason (though pregnancy was the reason for one of the women's marriages). However, 15% of the women actually did have children, while only 10% of the men reported any. In the men's case understatement of the number of children through ignorance is of course possible.

Only 55% of the men reported any heterosexual relations, compared to 62% of the women. More men (and also more women) reported from 1 to 3 such relations than any other number. However, as is to be expected, relatively more men than women had many heterosexual relations - in some of the male cases reaching into the 100's and above.

ASSOCIATES

Friends of the men are reported to be homosexual in about 1/3 of the replies, heterosexual in 16% of them, and mixed in 50%. This is quite similar to the data for women. However, there is a difference in regard to fellow-workers: considerably fewer of the men felt that they were completely unknown as homosexual to their fellow-workers, and considerably more of them thought they were known to most of their fellow-workers. Note that a full third of the men gave no reply to this question. If their status were known, the picture might be somewhat changed, but it seems unlikely that it would totally eliminate the impression that the men are more obvious to their fellow-workers than are the women. It remains true, though, that of the group surveyed, most men (and by far most women) believed that they were not obvious to most of their associates.

	PERCENT OF	
	MEN	WOMEN
NO FELLOW-WORKERS KNOW	12	39
SOME FELLOW-WORKERS KNOW	37	50
MOST FELLOW-WORKERS KNOW	18	4
NO REPLY OR DOUBTFUL	33	7
	100	100

TABLE 6

SOCIAL HABITS

About 83% of the males drink to some extent - very close to the 86% reported by the women. Somewhat more men than women report themselves as alcoholic - 4% of the men, less than 1% of the women (although another 2½% of the women claimed to be reformed alcoholics). Apart from this

group, the men appear to be somewhat less extensive drinkers than the women, on the whole. The largest number in both groups reported "social drinking" - once or twice a week. Since the male questionnaire was modified, for purposes of easier tabulation, by supplying a check-list, while the female questionnaire had none, it is possible that the results for the women may understate the number of "heavy" drinkers compared to the "daily" drinkers.

EXTENT OF DRINKING	(PERCENT OF ALL DRINKERS) MEN	WOMEN
VERY OCCASIONALLY (LESS THAN ONCE A MONTH)	23	15
OCCASIONALLY (1-2 TIMES A MONTH)	20	26
SOCIALLY (1-2 TIMES A WEEK)	36	39
DAILY	10	16
HEAVILY	7	4
NO REPLY	4	--
	100	100

TABLE 7. FREQUENCY OF DRINKING

Considerably more men than women reported attending "gay" bars - 68% compared to 51%. Since consumption of alcohol is apparently no greater among most of the men, it may be inferred that the reasons for this are social and sexual. Men may desire this form of socializing and making "contacts" more than women, or they may simply be more aware of locations, and less reluctant than women to seek out and enter bars, particularly if alone. Differences between the frequency of attendance by men and women are not great, as shown in Table 8 on page 18.

Several comments indicated that still more males would attend "gay" bars if any existed in the community.

SEXUAL LIFE

Certain differences between the male and the female appear from a mere reading of the comments. More males than females had difficulty in interpreting the word "relationship" as used in the questionnaire, but for

different reasons. Where women were sometimes uncertain whether to count an emotional relation that was not specifically sexual, men had trouble deciding whether to count - and generally did not count - specifically sexual experiences that were not emotional. This probably explains the fact that only 46% of the men said they were presently involved in a homosexual relationship, whereas 72% of the women said they were. It seems likely that these figures understate the percentage of men currently engaging in sexual contacts with partners of the same sex; whereas it probably does not understate, and may even overstate the percentage of women so doing. Furthermore, some 46% of the men mention that they are presently involved in several, rather than one, homosexual relation. None of the women mentioned such a situation.

As was to be expected, the range of homosexual relations of short duration reported was greater for the men than for the women. While the most active woman reported hundreds of short relations, the corresponding male specified 5000. As the chart below indicates, the distribution of male replies leans more to the high side than does that of the women. This does not mean that most of the men reported a large number of short relations, however. In fact more men (and also more women) reported between 1 and 5 short relations than any other number; the median male reported 5; whereas the female reported 3.

Awareness of "homosexual tendencies" came earlier to the men than to the women, though the range was slightly narrower. The average age of earliest awareness was 14.7 years for the men, 16.6 years for the women. More

EXTENT OF ATTENDANCE	(PERCENT OF TOTAL WHO ATTEND) MEN	WOMEN
VERY OCCASIONALLY (LESS THAN ONCE A MONTH)	37	39
OCCASIONALLY (1-2 TIMES A MONTH)	40	42
ONCE OR TWICE A WEEK	23	16
NIGHTLY	--	3
	100	100

TABLE 8. FREQUENCY OF ATTENDING HOMOSEXUAL BARS

men and more women became aware between the ages of 11 and 15 than in any other age bracket. The range varied from 6 to 30 years for the men, from 5 to 44 years for the women.

Earliest homosexual experience occurred on the average at 15.8 years for the men - later than awareness, as was also true for the women. This is earlier than the average age of earliest experience for the women - which was almost 20 years. Range of earliest experience varied for the men from 4 to 36 years, compared to 6 to 44 years for the women. More men had their first experience between 11 and 15 years than at any other time; more women had theirs between 16 and 20 years. The percentage distribution of replies to these two questions is as follows:

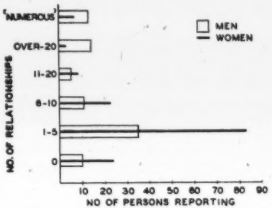

FIG. V - NO. OF HOMOSEXUAL RELATIONS OF SHORT DURATION

	EARLIEST AWARENESS OF HOMOSEXUAL TENDENCIES		EARLIEST HOMOSEXUAL EXPERIENCE	
AGE	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
LESS THAN 5 YEARS	0%	0.5%	1%	0%
5-10 YEARS	19	9	21	5
11-15 YEARS	39	41	31	15
16-20 YEARS	26	29	22	41
21-30 YEARS	10	13	21	31
31-40 YEARS	0	3	1	3
OVER 40 YEARS	0	0.5	0	0.5
NO REPLY OR DOUBTFUL	6	4	3	4.5
	100	100	100	100

TABLE 9

Earliest heterosexual experience, where it occurred among the men, was spread over a broad range from 5 to 38 years, with the average at 19.6 years. About 1/3 of the group having any such experience had it first between the ages of 21 and 30. This is a wider range and a somewhat higher average than was found for the women, over half of whom had their first heterosexual experience between the ages of 16 and 20. The average age for the women's first heterosexual experience was 18.7 years.

Looking at this data from another point of view, it appears that while the women's first homosexual experience occurred on the average slightly later than their first heterosexual experience, the reverse is true for the men. In fact, the men's earliest homosexual experience occurred about four years before the earliest heterosexual experience, on the average. For those men who had both types of experience, the homosexual experience preceded the heterosexual experience much more often than the reverse. For those women who had both kinds of experience, on the contrary, the heterosexual came first in more cases than not. Part of the explanation may lie in the greater opportunity and tendency for young boys to take part in group activities, including sexual ones, compared to young girls. Another part of the explanation may lie in the fact that in heterosexual relations the man is expected to be the initiator; thus where the initiative lies with a homosexual there may be a delay, but where the initiative lies with a heterosexual (presumably the cases involving Lesbians) it may happen sooner.

DURATION OF HOMOSEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS

In regard to longest homosexual relationships, the men reported lengths that averaged 5 years. This is below the women's average of 5.3 years, and since the male group is older this difference is even more significant than it appears. However, in both male and female groups more persons reported "longest relationships" of from 1 to 3 years than any other length. The percentage distributions are given in Table 10.

Note that as many as 15% of the men did not reply. Since persons with many short relations would presumably have

	MEN	WOMEN
LESS THAN 1 YEAR	15%	10%
1-3 YEARS	35	31
4-6 YEARS	17	30
7-9 YEARS	7	10
10 YEARS AND OVER	11	14
NO REPLY	15	5
	100	100

TABLE 10. LENGTH OF LONGEST HOMOSEXUAL RELATIONSHIP

more difficulty in replying to this question than those with a few longer ones, it seems likely that the true men's distribution may swing still more heavily to the short side than it appears to do.

In considering the data on length of present homosexual relations, it must be kept in mind that far fewer men than women reported any present relationship, and that an unknown number of additional men are likely to be engaging in passing sex contacts. The average reported length of "present relationship" was 5 years for the men, higher than the 4.6 average for the women. The shortest "present relationship" reported by a man was 3 weeks; the shortest reported by a woman was 1 week. It seems likely, however, that more men than women were involved in experiences shorter-lived than those reported. This fact, together with the greater age of the male group, suggests that the higher average obtained for the men is likely to be misleading.

SEX ROLE

The question as to subject's predominant role in homosexual relationships produced a majority of men who favored either a feminine or masculine role.* The comparative results are in Figure VI, page 22.

*The original questionnaire asked, "In your homosexual relationship(s) do you consider yourself predominantly masculine, feminine or neither?" The questionnaire for the males changed the word "neither" to "either".

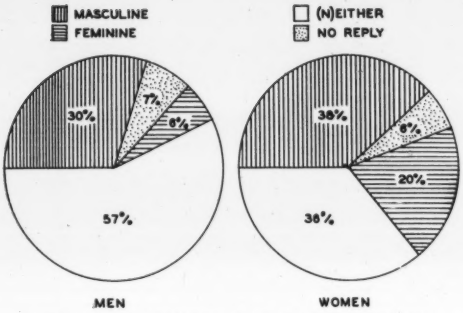

FIG. VI - PREDOMINANT ROLE IN HOMOSEXUAL RELATIONS

It is most interesting that a minority of both men and women - and in the case of the men a very small minority - considered themselves as predominantly feminine in their homosexual relations. This has no necessary connection with the physical role taken in sexual performance; the question does not specify physical role, having been written originally for the women's questionnaire, and there seems no reason why psychological attitudes must correspond to physical ones. The replies may reflect the higher prestige-value of male than of female identification in the minds of both men and women homosexuals. This corresponds to findings for the general population on the part of sociologists.*

Further evidence in this direction is that some - perhaps many - male homosexuals apparently maintain a strong

*For example: McKee & Sherrifs "The Differential Evaluation of Males & Females", Journal of Personality, XXV, 451-64; McKee & Sherrifs "Men's and Women's Beliefs, Ideals & Self-Concepts", American Journal of Sociology, Jan. 1959; Komarovsky, Mirra, "Women in the Modern World", 1953.

feeling of loyalty to the concept "man" despite homosexual activity. Thus one subject comments "I am too much of a man to want another man for either 'husband' or 'wife'." He considers other men as suitable objects of sexual desire, but not of romantic love.

The large number of "(n)either" replies to this question in both male and, particularly, female groups could reflect an awareness among them of the complexity of personality, and the lack of precision in such cultural labels as "masculine" or "feminine". In the men's case, the heavy majority for "either" may of course also reflect mere physical versatility.

ADJUSTMENT

Considerably more men than women said they had difficulty in adjusting to their homosexuality (57% compared to 33%), and fewer of them feel well adjusted now (78% of men, 83% of women). Somewhat more of the men have had psychotherapy than of the women (35% compared to 29%). About 12% of the men reported having been at one time committed to mental hospitals, compared to 7% of the women. While varying degrees of self-knowledge and frankness may enter the picture, these results may again reflect possibly greater psychological difficulties of the male homosexual in our culture.

V. Summary

The male group surveyed shares with the female group a high level of education, college achievement, and professional status, and a predominantly urban background. A fairly stable and responsible mode of living, on the average, is indicated for both groups by such measures as voting registration, credit rating, permanence of employment and residence, membership in associations, etc. Interests as indicated by most popular choices of college majors do not differ greatly as between the men and the women who attended college. Occupational choice of the men and women was more closely similar than was that of either group to its respective national distribution.

The men, however, do not show as great an income superiority over the women as might be expected on the basis

of national figures, and they have come into minor conflict with the law more often than have the women.

Family background appears somewhat more stable among the men, who also as a group come from somewhat larger families. Despite this, there are numerous indications that the men have had greater adjustment difficulty than the women.

The men surveyed are not heavy drinkers, on the whole, and except for a few admitted alcoholics, appear to drink slightly less than the women. Considerably more of them, however, attend "gay" bars.

The men are more obviously homosexual to their associates than are the women; yet in both groups only a minority believed that they were obvious to most of their work associates.

In both male and female groups over 90% judged themselves to be predominantly homosexual on the Kinsey scale. About 63% of each group rate themselves as exclusively homosexual.

The men have had more frequent and earlier homosexual experiences than the women, and were aware of their tendencies earlier. Fewer of them than of the women, however, have had heterosexual experience, though the extent of it was greater among those men who had any.

The duration of the men's homosexual relationships is undoubtedly shorter than that of the women, if passing sex contacts are included. If such contacts are not included, the evidence is not clear-cut.

Both men and women prefer the "masculine" to the "feminine" label in their homosexual relations, though a large percentage in both groups are indifferent.

VI. Conclusions

The two groups are similar enough in general background and characteristics so that the differences which do emerge are of interest. They seem to suggest on the whole (1) greater sex activity on the men's part, and

(2) greater adjustment difficulties on the men's part, both to society and to themselves. The two points may be related, since constitutional factors making for a stronger sex drive in men may be involved in both. But there is also a cultural factor involved in the second point, namely, the stronger social taboo against male homosexuality, which is a reverse reflection of the high prestige of masculinity in our culture.

This is well illustrated by the apparent unwillingness of the men to choose a "feminine" label for themselves, even in the limited area of the homosexual relationship, although the women had less reluctance in choosing a "masculine" label under the same circumstances. In a society that is male-oriented and where masculine values have higher prestige*, the lot of any male who rejects these values in any way is difficult, and perhaps few homosexual males can do so completely, or with impunity, despite their sexual or other preferences. Lesbians, on the other hand, when they reject the traditional role of women, may be harmonizing their behavior not only with their own inclinations, but also with the really dominant values of society.

The present report was based on a questionnaire that was <u>not</u> specifically designed to bring out in detail differences between the male and the female homosexual. A study which specifically attempted to measure emotional, intellectual and social differences between men and women homosexuals, and to compare them with known differences between men and women in our culture, would of course be of great interest. For such a purpose far more adequate resources are needed than are at present at the disposal of the Daughters of Bilitis.

*See references cited in footnote, page 22; also L. Ovesy, "Masculine Aspirations in Women," <u>Psychiatry</u>, 1956: 19:341.

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